

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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P R 171005Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8174
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 6914

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PEPR, XD, XF, UR, US
SUBJECT: UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM'S MFA DISCUSSION - 15 JULY

1. SUMMARY: UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM DISCUSSED REGIONAL ISSUES IN THE LIGHT OF THE AFGHAN COUP IN HIS FIRST SESSION AT THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ON JULY 15. NEWSOM SUMMARIZED RESULT OF HIS TALKS IN TEHRAN, DELHI, AND KABUL, AND SHAHNAWAZ MADE VERY STRONG CASE FOR GOP POSITION THAT PAKISTAN FEELS BOTH THREATENED AND FRIENDLESS AT THIS MOMENT. FONSEC'S REMARKS ON INDIA WERE PREDICTABLY NEGATIVE, BUT HE WAS ALSO SEVERE IN HIS CRITICISMS OF THE IRANIANS AS WELL. END SUMMARY.

2. REGIONAL ISSUES DOMINATED UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM'S OPENING DISCUSSIONS WITH THE MFA ON JULY 15TH. PARTICIPATING ON THE PAK SIDE WERE

FOREIGN SECRETARY SHAHNAWAZ AND ADDITIONAL FOREIGN SECRETARY (AND SOON

TO BE PAK UN PERMREP) NAIZ NAIK; US SIDE INCLUDED AMBASSADOR HUMMEL,
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POLCOUNS HAGERTY AND DEPTOFF, MINISTER OF STATE AGHA SHAHI WAS UNAVOIDABLY DETAINED BY HEAVY RAINS IN KARACHI AND WAS UNABLE TO BE PRESENT FOR THE FIRST SESSION.

3. AFGHANISTAN: SHAHNAWAZ BEGAN WITH GOP ASSESSMENT OF AFGHAN SITUATION. HE NOTED PAKISTANI AND US VIEWS GENERALLY COINCIDED AND MENTIONED WARM LETTER EXCHANGE BETWEEN PRESIDENT CARTER AND GENERAL

ZIA.

PAKISTAN AND INDIA, HOWEVER, HAVE DIVERGENT VIEWS, ESPECIALLY ON QUESTION OF DEGREE OF AFGHAN SUBSERVIENCE TO USSR. GOP SEES RECENT EVENTS AS UNPRECEDENTED AND FULFILLMENT OF "ANCIENT RUSSIAN DREAM" OF DRIVING TOWARD INDIAN OCEAN. GOP SEES DEVELOPMENTS IN HORN, SOUTHERN YEMEN, AND AFGHANISTAN AS PART OF SAME SOVIET PLAN. FACT THAT SOVIET TECHNICIANS AND MILITARY ADVISERS IN AFGHANISTAN HAVE INCREASED TO OVER

3,000 SINCE COUP SUPPORTS PAK VIEW. GOP IS DISQUIETED RATHER THAN REASSURED BY KHALQ'S COMING OUT AHEAD OF PARCHAM. EXTREMIST PARCHAM ATTITUDE WAS APPARENTLY CONTRARY TO SOVIET DESIRE TO APPEAR TO SUPPORT

A "MODERATE" GROUP UNTIL NEW REGIME SOLIDIFIES ITS POSITION. ALSO, LEADERSHIP OF KHALQ IS LESS EGOTISTICAL THAN PARCHAM; LEADERS ARE THEREFORE MORE MALLEABLE. THUS KHALQ VICTORY WAS RESULT OF SOVIET DESIGN.

4. FONSEC NOTED THAT INDIANS CLAIM AFGHANS ARE PROUD AND INDEPENDENT PEOPLE AND IT IS WRONG TO CONCLUDE AFGHANISTAN WILL BECOME ANOTHER CUBA.

INDIANS SAY GOP DELIBERATELY EXAGGERATES THE THREAT IN ORDER TO OBTAIN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID FROM US AND IRAN. INDIA KNOWS PAKISTAN HAS A

GOOD CASE FOR INCREASED ASSISTANCE, BUT WILL DO WHATEVER IT CAN TO
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AVOID A STRENGTHENED PAKISTAN; A WEAK PAKISTAN WILL HAVE TO LEAN ON INDIA, THEREBY INCREASING LIKELIHOOD OF INDIAN HEGEMONY IN SOUTH ASIA

5. UNDER SECRETARY OPENED BY NOTING HE HAD FOUR GENERAL PURPOSES IN VISITING REGION.

-- REASSURE FRIENDS IN REGION OF US INTEREST IN AND CONCERN FOR REGIONAL SECURITY AND STABILITY.

--GATHER VIEWS ON RECENT EVENTS IN AFGHANISTAN AND WHAT IT PRESAGES FOR THE AREA.

--EVALUATE THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN IN ORDER TO MAKE SPECIFIC POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS.

--DISCUSS SPECIFIC ISSUES IN US/PAKISTAN BILATERAL RELATIONS.

6. NEWSOM NOTED THERE IS CERTAIN PERCEPTION ABROAD THAT US DETERMINATION TO OPPOSE SOVIET INFLUENCE AND US INTEREST IN SOUTH ASIA HAVE DECREASED. NEWSOM SAID SOVIET UNION REMAINS OUR PRINCIPAL POTENTIAL ADVERSARY AND WE ARE DETERMINED TO WORK WITH OTHERS TO DO WHAT WE CAN TO STOP SPREAD OF SOVIET INFLUENCE. NEWSOM REVIEWED SEVERAL PRIORITY US

INTERESTS, INCLUDING GLOBAL SECURITY, REDUCTION OF THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR AND NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, SUPPORT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, EFFORTS TO

BRING PEACE AND STABILITY TO AFRICA, AND NARCOTICS.

7. UNDER SECRETARY THEN SUMMARIZED HIS MEETINGS IN OTHER CAPITALS.
--IRAN. SHAH FEELS SOVIET INFLUENCE IS ADVANCING, IN AREAS LIKE AFGHAN-

ISTAN, HORN, AND THE YEMENS. HE HAS NO QUICK REMEDIES, HOWEVER,
AND RECOGNIZES THAT OPTIONS ARE LIMITED. TO PREPARE TO MEET THE THREAT

SHAH WANTS TO STRENGTHEN RELATIONS AMONG INDIA, PAKISTAN, SAUDI ARABIAA

AND OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE REGION. HE IS KEENLY AWARE OF DANGER PAKIS
TAN

FACES AND IS PREPARED TO PROVIDE SUPPORT TO STRENGTHEN PAKISTAN.
--INDIA. WHILE INDIAN LEADERS DID NOT EXPRESS DEGREE OF CONCERN ABOUT
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AFGHANISTAN THAT PAKISTAN OR US HAS, THEY ARE NEVERTHELESS CONCERNED,

AND THEY FEAR SOVIET INTERESTS IN REGION WILL BE ADVANCED BY IMPROVED
SOVIET POSITION IN KABUL. GOI WILL PROVIDE AFGHANISTAN WITH ECONOMIC
ASSISTANCE IN HOPES OF GIVING KABRKAN OPEN WINDOW TO ITS SOUTH.
NEWSOM ADDED THAT HE HAD MADE CLEAR US BELIEF THAT PAKISTAN'S
STABILITY

IS IMPORTANT FOR REGIONAL STABILITY.

--AFGHANISTAN. NEWSOM SAID HE RECEIVED A STRONG SIGNAL THAT THE NEW
LEADERS DESIRE GOOD UELATIONS WITH US AND WANT US ASSISTANCE--WHICH
IS MODEST--TO CONTINUE. AFGHANS WERE TOLD, HOWEVER, THAT US CAN
CONTINUE TO PROVIDE ASSISTANCE ONLY IF GOA REMAINS GENUINELY NON-
ALIGNED. WE WOULD FACE LEGISLATIVE COMPLICATIONS WERE AFGHANISTAN TO
MEET OUR DEFINITION OF A COMMUNIST COUNTRY, I.A. EVIDENCE OF PARTY-TO

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PARTY TIES, MARXIST-LENINIST IDEOLOGY, AND DISCRIMINATORY TREATMENT OF

NON-COMMUNIST STATES. HE ALSO WARNED AGAINST AGGRAVATING TENSIONS IN
BORDER AREAS WITH PAKISTAN OR IRAN.

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EXDIS

8. NEWSOM SAID HE WOULD RECOMMEND THAT US BE "CAUTIOUSLY POSITIVE" TOWARD AFGHANISTAN UNTIL (AND UNLESS) THEY PROVE THEMSELVES TO BE OTHER THAN GENUINELY NON-ALIGNED. HE SAID AFGHANS ARE STILL FEELING THEIR WAY, REGIME IS NOT SOLIDLY IN PLACE, AND THEY ARE MOVING SLOWLY --WHETHER OF THEIR OWN OR SOVIET VOLITION. US AND FRINEDS SHOULD BE PRESENT, HELPFUL, AND ALERT DURING THIS PERIOD.

9. SHAHNAWAZ NOTED KABUL HAS CLAMPED DOWN HARD ON INTERNAL RESISTANCE , PARTICULARLY IN PROVINCES NEAR PAKISTAN BORDER. WHOLE VILLAGES HAVE BEEN OBLITERATED BY AIR STRIKES. REFUGEES HAVE CROSSED BORDER INTO PAKISTAN, AND GOP HOPES THAT FLOW WILL NOT GROW TO POINT WHERE IT WILL HAVE TO SET UP CAMPS. GOP BELIEVES THAT PARTY-TO-PARTY RELATIONS ALREADY EXIST

BETWEEN THE PDPA AND CPSU. THIS WAS CLEAR WHEN FONMIN AMIN VISITED MOSCOW AND WAS OFFICIALLY RECEIVED IN HIS POSITION AS MEMBER OF THE POPA

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POLITBURO AND ONLY SECONDARILY AS FOREIGN MINISTER. GOP DOES NOT WANT TO BE EITHER OVERLY PESSIMISTIC OR OPTIMISTIC CONCERNING AFGHANISTAN BUT HAS TO AVOID MISTAKES NOW WHICH COULD HAVE SERIOUS FUTURE CONSEQUENCES.

10. LIKE THE US, PAKISTAN BELIEVES BEST POLICY TOWARD AFGHANISTAN AT PRESENT IS TO SEEK FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH NEW REGIME IN ORDER TO PROVIDE AN ALTERNATIVE TO COMPLETE IDENTIFY WITH MOSCOW. CONCRETE STEPS WHICH PAKISTAN HAS TAKEN INCLUDE AGREEING TO VERLAND TRANSIT FROM INDIA FOR AFGHAN PURCHASES OF INSECTICIDES AND 50,000 TONS OF WHEAT AND DIVERTING RAILROAD CARS NEEDED FOR URGENT PAKISTANI PRIORITIES TO TRANSPORTING BACKLOG OF AFGHAN IMPORTS FROM KARACHI.

11. SHAHNAWAZ NOTED GENERAL ZIA WROTE TARAKI FOLLOWING COUP ASSURING HIM THAT GOP VIEWED COUP AS INTERNAL AFGHAN AFFAIR AND THAT GOP WANTED GOOD RELATIONS AND WISHED TO HELP THE DRA ACHIEVE ITS GOALS OF PROSPER-

ITY FOR ITS PEOPLE. TARAKI WROTE WARM REPLY BUT NOTED ALSO THAT DRA WISHED "TO RESOLVE ITS DIFFERENCES" WITH PAUISTAN PEACEFULLY, A COMMENT WHICH GOP FOUND OMINOUSLY OUT OF PLACE. GOP IS CONCERNED THAT MANIFESTO OF KHALQ PARTY AND STATEMENTS BY AMIN IN HAVANA AND SSOD EMPLOY SPECIFIC LANGUAGE SUPPORTING "NATIONAL RIGHTS OF BALUCHI AND PUSHTU PEOPLES."

12. AT UN, AGHA SHAHI RESPONDED MODERATELY OFFERING DIALOGUE TO RESOLVE ANY DIFFERENCES; MOREOVER, THERE IS AN OUTSTANDING GOP OFFER TO EITHER SEND OR RECEIVE A DELEGATION TO DISCUSS ISSUES OF MUTUAL SECRET

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CONCERN. HOWEVER, DRA HAS NOT YET RESPONDED OTHER THAN TO SAY IT IS PREOCCUPIED WITH INTERNAL MATTERS (ALTHOUGH NOT SO OCCUPIED, FONSEC NOTED, AS TO PRECLUDE A VISIT BY INDIAN FOREIGN SECRETARY MEHTA.)

13. IN RESPONSE TO QUERY FROM NEWSOM, FONSEC NOTED SOVIET POSITION ON PUSHTUNISTAN POLICY HAS NOT CHANGED. THEY STILL CLAIM IT IS BILATERAL ISSUE TO BE RESOWVED BETWEEN PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN IN WHICH THEY WILL NOT INTERFERE. THIS IS CONTRARY TO THEIR USUAL POSITION SUPPORTING SANCTITY OF INTERNATIONAL FRONTIERS. NEWSOM NOTED THAT TARAKI HAD VOLUNTEERED THAT AFGHANISTAN WOULD NOT PERMIT FOREIGN TROOPS ON AFGHAN SOIL. SHAHNAWAZ REPLIED THERE ALREADY IS LARGE NUMBER OF RUSSIAN ADVISERS IN AFGHANISTAN. ALSO CUBAN EMBASSY IS ABOUT TO BE ESTABLISHE D, AND GDR MISSION HAS OPENED FOR FIRST TIME.

14. COMMENTING ON IRANIAN REACTION TO AFGHAN COUP, FONSEC SAID THERE WAS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PAK AND IRANIAN ASSESSMENTS OF SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COUP; HOWEVER, IRAN AND PAKISTAN DO NOT AGREE ON WHAT ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN. IRAN EMPHASIZES WORKING WITH INDIA IN DEVELOPING REGIONAL COOPERATION, BUT THIS IGNORES THE SPECIAL CONCERNS OF PAKISTAN VIS-A-VIS INDIA. TRILATERAL COOPERATION NOT POSSIBLE IN GOP VIEW. INDIA HAS A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH USSR AND THEREFORE CANNOT SERIOUSLY DEMONSTRATE CONCERN OVER IMPROVED SOVIET POSITON INAFGANISTAN. NEW DELHI WANTS TO DISSUADE US FROM HELPING PAKISTAN IN LINE WITH INDIAN DESIRE FOR HEGEMONY IN AREA.

15. NEVERTHELESS PAKISTAN TRIES TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH INDIA EVEN
THOUGH ITS EFFORTS TO IMPROVE RELATIONS HAVE MET DOMESTIC CRITICISM.
INDIA, HOWEVER, TAKES ADVANTAGE OF PAKISTAN. FOR EXAMPLE, PRIVATE
TRADE WHICH TOOK PLACE UNDER PREVIOUS BILATERAL TRADE AGREEMENT
HEAVILY FAVORED INDIA. NOW THAT AGREEMENT HAS EXPIRED, PAKISTAN HAS
INAUGURATED STATE-TO-STATE TRADE ONLY IN ORDER TO INSURE THAT
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TRADE WILL BE BALANCED. GOP IS AWAITING INDIAN ANSWER TO OPEN INVITATION
TO DISCUSS THIS PROBLEM. FONSEC SAID HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO BE PROVEN
WRONG ABOUT INDIA, BUT "FACTS SUSTAIN" HIS POSITION. PAKISTAN NEEDS
ACTS NOT WORDS FROM DELHI.

16. FONSEC EXPLAINED THAT PAKISTAN HAS AGREEMENT WITH IRAN OVER
TRANSIT

TRADE, MOSTLY BY RAIL. IRAN ALSO WANTS TRANSIT BETWEEN IRAN AND INDIA
BY ROAD, BUT PAKISTAN HAS ASKED FOR IRANIAN ASSISTANCE TO BUILD
ROADS FIRST. SOVIETS WOULD ALSO LIKE TO HAVE OVERLAND TRANSIT RIGHTS
ACROSS PAKISTAN TO INDIA.

17. NEWSOM SAID HE RECOGNIZES COMPLETELY INDO-PAK PROBLEM, BUT WANTS
GOP TO KNOW HE DID NOT FIND THAT INDIANS DISAGREE WITH PAKISTAN'S CON-

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CERNS OVER AFGHANISTAN. HE HAD INFORMED PRIME MINISTER DESAI AND
DEFENNE
MINISTER RAM THAT US WOULD RESUME ECONOMIC AID AND MILITARY SALES TO
PAKISTAN IF SERIOUS BILATERAL NUCLEAR ISSUE COULD BE RESOLVED. HE
ASSURED PAKS HE HAD NOT SOUGHT INDIAN CONCURRENCE IN THIS, BUT HE
SAID
HE WANTED PAKS TO KNOW THAT INDIANS SEEMED TO ACCEPT THIS. HUMMEL

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